



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

mighty through God to the pulling down of every stronghold founded in selfishness and defended by the mightiest engines of physical force which human wit can devise.

Whitewashing War.

We have read somewhere a story of a simple-minded whitewasher, colored or white, who, in order to draw customers, had placed over his door the sign: "Goin' out whitewashin' done in here." It would seem just now as if this sign might appropriately be placed over the doors of certain departments of governmental management. About everything connected with the recent war, its mismanagement and the evils and quarrelings growing out of it, seem to be getting a slash of the whitewash brush.

General Eagan has been courtmartialed and suspended, not because he was guilty of appointing incompetent favorites, not because he fed the soldiers "embalmed" or rotten beef, but because he got mad and said several sorts of "bad" words at General Miles. But he is allowed to continue to draw a salary of more than five thousand dollars a year, and to retire, like a gentleman, to one of "our new possessions", to a coffee plantation which he has annexed.

Secretary Alger and the War Department in general have gone almost scott free at the hands of the War Investigation Commission. It was generally believed, when the Commission was appointed, and during the investigation, that its character, as composed of military men and friends of the Department, would lead it to make a whitewashing report. It is true, the Commission found many grounds of blame, as it was compelled by public sentiment to do. But this blame is distributed in such a way and couched in such terms as to make it characterless. The conspicuous incompetency of the head of the War Department is toned down to "lack of that complete grasp of the situation which was essential", and the General is towed about by the President in his trips as if he were the *sine qua non* of the Administration.

The inspector-general's department is found to be "not as efficient as it ought to have been", an utterance which might be made with truth about any service performed by even the most competent human being. General Miles and Dr. Daly are declared to have been "derelict in duty" for not communicating to the Department their suspicion that the refrigerated beef had been chemically treated. And so on through the list. Everybody is uncorrupt and patriotic and energetic, but everybody has failed to do his work perfectly. Everybody is hit, nobody is hurt. As a climax of the whole, the poor "embalmed" beef itself is now being investigated, and in spite of General Miles, or because of him, it is almost certain to get its coat of whitewash.

We do not wonder much at the report of the War

Investigation Commission. If it had not felt itself compelled to save the reputation of the War Department, if it had dared to tell the truth and the whole truth, it would have brought the most serious charges, not against the War Department alone, but against Congress also for the reckless haste with which it plunged the nation needlessly into war, and against the President himself for allowing himself to be "rushed" against his judgment and his wish into the horrors of conflict. The final blame rested just here, and with that large noisy section of the people which shouted for war, and whose voice the authorities mistook for the voice of God.

There was therefore no other report which the Commission could make, unless it had gone beyond the purpose of its appointment and had had the courage to expose the whole gigantic wrong from beginning to end. It was not appointed for this purpose, evidently. The investigation has been absolutely worthless, when judged by any of the higher standards which ought to control the life and activity of the nation. It has been worse than worthless; it has been positively mischievous. Its influence will help to keep the eyes of the people closed to the iniquities and absurdities of war, and to lead the nation farther and farther into the spirit and practice of militarism.

Nothing gets whitewashed as war, and everything connected with it, does. It has always been so. Its hideous and ghastly deformity has been decked out in every fair device which the imagination could suggest, in order to make it look holy and beautiful. Painters have painted it in the fairest colors of the rainbow. People sing over it, pray over it, preach over it, orate over it, as if it were the fairest and sweetest thing in all God's world. Money is spent on it as a lover throws away money on his mistress. Gilded and costly swords are presented to those who have been foremost in killing and mangling their fellowmen. War men are promoted for what occurs in the regular performance of their tasks, as no other men in any other calling, however difficult it may be, are promoted. It is humiliating in the extreme to see men, otherwise rational and humane, joining in all this glorification of what ought to receive the instant and universal condemnation of all rightly ordered souls. The time will come when all this will cease, and war, stripped of its finery, will be sent forth as an outcast to wander without a friend on the planet.

The Conquest of the Philippines.

"What can war but endless war still breed?"

No sadder, no more shameful page has ever been written in American history than that which is now being written in the Philippine islands. The United States, the land of freedom and justice, "mowing

down" the Filipinos by thousands, because they wish to be free and independent themselves! The United States, which "righteously" went to war with Spain to liberate Cuba, actually taking the place of Spain in shooting down a people who have suddenly, from being patriots and lovers of liberty, become to us "rebels" and "traitors", because they decline to have the shackles of our sovereignty thrown without ceremony upon their wrists! No fine phrase-mongering of President or Congressmen, of newspapers or would-be preachers of the gospel, can change the murderous character of the event or wash the hands of the nation into innocency.

Everybody regrets the deplorable situation. It is "anguish" to the President's heart, he says. We do not doubt it; for he is at heart a liberty-loving, humane man. If he had suspected such a bloody scene in the *cul-de sac* into which the policy of annexation has brought him, he would have been the last to enter it. The situation brings anguish to all hearts which have a particle of goodness left in them. The slaughter of the Filipinos has certainly not been caused by individual wishes. All Americans are too humane directly to wish anything of the sort. All have hastened to say: "The Filipinos have misunderstood our purposes." They have misunderstood a part of our purposes, but not all of them. The war now on our hands at Manila, by whatever name we please to call it, is the legitimate result of the policy inaugurated at Paris of dealing with the Philippine problem. For this policy, the character of which the Filipinos, ignorant barbarians as they are, were quick to detect, who is responsible primarily? Who? There can be but one answer.

The excuses offered to cover up the real nature of the shocking situation and the real wrong-doers only make the matter worse and more painful. Our authority! We never had any authority over the Philippines. Whatever the laws of war may say, we acquired none *de jure* from Spain by her cession, for she had lost all rights of sovereignty by her misrule in the islands, ourselves being judges. What authority we have in the Philippines has been created by force, pure and simple.

That the uprising of the Filipinos was due to the nature of the treaty and not to delay in its ratification is clear from a comparison of their case with that of the Cubans. The same treaty dealt with both. Why did the delay in its ratification not produce irritation and uprising in Cuba? Because the treaty, while requiring Spain to renounce sovereignty over the island, left the Cubans to have the real say as to what should be their political future. If the treaty had undertaken to *cede* Cuba outright to the United States as it did the Philippines, leaving our government the sole arbiter of the political destiny of the Cuban people, Generals Gomez and

Garcia and every soldier of the Cuban army would have been up in arms against the United States before sundown. As it is, everything has gone smoothly in Cuba, and promises to do so hereafter. There is every reason to believe that such would have been the case in the Philippines, if our government had not insisted on transferring them to our sovereignty without any voice from the inhabitants. The Filipinos had a right to receive the same sort of treatment accorded the Cubans. They had been led to expect it. The United States, of all countries in the world, might have been expected to proceed in this way, instead of pursuing the course which it has taken. It is paying the penalty, swiftly and with a moral degradation that is infinitely worse than open defeat in arms would be.

But the past is irrevocable. What should be done now? What will be done is certain. The President says that there must first be absolute submission to "our authority" on the part of the Filipinos before anything else can be considered. Then "we will give them" liberty and good government! Those who are responsible with the President for the conduct of affairs agree with him to such an extent as to make it practically certain that the program begun in the drafting of the treaty is to be carried out, if need be, to the bitter end. The conquest of the Philippines will go on, at no matter what cost of life and treasure and property. The Filipinos seem enraged against us as they were never enraged against the Spaniards, because they expected better things of us. Failing in arms they resort to fire and every other device which they suppose will enable them to expel "the new invaders." The foundations are being laid of bitterness and friction in all our relations with them for generations to come, unless the policy of our government toward them is immediately changed. A new "century of dishonor" is, we fear, opening before us.

If the government were so disposed, a peaceful and conciliatory policy could be found without difficulty, one which would enable us to bear "the white man's burden" toward them "like white men." One has already been suggested by men whose age and experience and wisdom ought to command respect. If we had at the helm a man like Mr. Gladstone the present policy would be instantly reversed, as he reversed the English policy in the case of the Boers in 1884. Hostilities ought to be suspended by our initiative. A Commission, with a white flag if need be, ought to be sent to the leaders of the Filipinos to announce our intention of withdrawing unconditionally from the *impasse* into which an inconsiderate policy has brought us. Such a courageous act of duty, on the part of powerful victors, would at once stop fire and sword; we should in this way make ourselves respected as we

can never do by conquest, even if we "kill half the natives" and burn out all their poor huts. We could then fulfil all our high obligations to these benighted peoples in a way worthy of a great people, whose institutions are founded in liberty and justice, and which ought to be run down deeper still into the love and benevolence taught by Jesus Christ.

The President's Boston Speech.

One of the chief events of the past month was the President's visit to Boston and his speech before the Home-Market Club. He was expected then to state distinctly the Administration's policy toward the Philippines; that is, some people expected him to do so. We did not. The course which had been taken in reference to the peace treaty led us to believe that the President would make a studied effort to justify his course and his purpose for the future without distinctly declaring them. We have read the speech a number of times and this seems to us to be its principal burden. There is not a word in it about any present rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands in determining what shall be their political future. The President boasts of the emancipation of the Filipinos from Spain, but thinks we are entirely ignorant of their wishes in regard to being brought under our sovereignty, though the same men who fought Spain for years because of her oppression have turned against us because we propose to determine their destiny without consulting them. They were justified in their previous revolt against Spain, but now what they are doing is setting up a "reign of terror"!

The President repeats with much eloquence and great show of passivity the "manifest destiny" argument. We had nothing to do with getting into the war, or into the treaty or into the slaughter of the Filipinos! All these things have been showered upon us from the mysterious clouds of Providence and we simply had to stand and take them! The treaty just as it was drafted was the only possible one! A "higher power" had decreed it! All other modes of procedure, for instance to have proceeded as the government did in the case of Cuba, "were too shameful to be considered"!

The President shows great concern for the Filipinos. "Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny, without our willing it, had been put into our hands"! The instructions sent to the Peace Commissioners were to keep solely in view "the welfare, and happiness and the *rights* of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands"; "*after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our honor*", the President naïvely adds. Our own "success" and "honor" were of course first; then the Filipinos should be looked after in whatever way might please us.

We did not ask the consent of the Philippine inhabitants about anything which we had done, therefore, led by "a higher obligation", we are to go on and do all that we may conjure into an appearance of duty, and ten millions of people are to stand by with closed mouths and not utter one word about their future! No claim of following "destiny" or of obeying "higher duty" can cover up the spirit of essential tyranny and oppression that lurks, however unsuspected, in all this display of words.

The President, we have not the slightest doubt, has the real interests of these far away people at heart, but he has allowed himself to be drawn into support of a policy which is utterly antagonistic in its essential features to his real nature and aspirations. The policy entered upon he says must be carried through at no matter what sacrifices to ourselves or the Filipinos. "Our authority must first be acknowledged and unquestioned." All questions of right must stand in abeyance until our "authority" is recognized! We shall crush and crush until that is done! Then the aspirations of the Filipinos and our aspirations can be realized!

But the whole subject is now in the hands of Congress, says the President. He knows, or ought to know, that now that the treaty is ratified in the form in which *he made* it, the whole subject will be in his own hands for a long time to come. And he proposes to "possess and hold" the Philippines until Congress shall direct otherwise! He believes that the inhabitants of the Philippine islands will be benefited by being under "our guidance", and visions of the time when the islands shall have become "the gems and glories of those tropical seas" enable him to look with satisfied eyes on "the blood-stained trenches around Manila"! The children and children's children of the "free and enfranchised Filipinos", "enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty", which we have forced upon them with the sacrifice of thousands of lives of their countrymen, "will for ages hence bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland and set them in the pathway of the world's best civilization"! So said the President, while our guns were yet thundering out their murderous voice and thousands of the poor islanders were being torn in pieces by shot and shell.

We have not the least doubt that the Philippine inhabitants will be much better off under United States sovereignty, forced upon them though it has been, than they have ever before been. But that does not touch the real kernel of the matter. The question is how much better off still they might have been, and how much less degraded we ourselves might have been, if we had gone about their elevation and civilization in a truly Christian and American way. However thankful the descendants of